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AUTHOR Massamba, David P. B.
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ABSTRACT

Although the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania has had a number of stumbling blocks, it is slowly developing into a language of modern technology. Individual institutions have contributed greatly to its spread and promotion. More books are now published in Kiswahili than ever before, and scientific and technical terminology has been developed. The boundaries of the language have been expanded greatly in the last 20 years, and it is now one of Africa's major lingua francas. To assure development of Kiswahili in Tanzania, experts must redevelop the existing unclear areas of language planning and language policy. The development of Kiswahili language requires more government attention and intervention, for example, through the commissioning of texts in Kiswahili, the translation of important textbooks into Kiswahili, and the formation of serious and effective commissions for the development of terminology. Similar change has been achieved in other languages. In addition, because English in the schools has actually hindered the learning process, Kiswahili should be considered as a course rather than a medium of instruction. (MSE)

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An Assessment of the Development and Modernization of the Kiswahili Language in Tanzania

David P.B. Massamba

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Introduction

Tanzania has an area of 886,000 sq. k.m. with a population of about 20 ml. people. The country has over 120 African languages.[1] Although there are some languages with fewer speakers than others none of the minority speakers would succumb to the majority speakers by regarding their languages as being superior to theirs. In other words from a purely sociological point of view it would be difficult to say language L_1 is superior to Language L_2.

Of the 120+ languages in Tanzania 102 are languages of Bantu origin (Batibo:1984). The Bantu languages constitute 95% of the whole population of Tanzania (Whiteley 1969). It would mean, therefore, that the majority of speakers of the African languages in Tanzania are Bantu. This is an important factor which we must bear in mind as we proceed.

Given the fact that speakers of every language regard their language as being equally as good as the others it would be difficult for any one language to dominate the others. A question may then be asked why Kiswahili happened to be so dominant. The fact is that the status of Kiswahili has for many years now been different from that of other African languages in Tanzania. Of course in its early stages of development Kiswahili did not play the role it has assumed today. It was used by a small handful of people living along the East African Coast as their mother tongue.[2] In this respect its status was in no way different from that of other African languages. Later, however with the establishment of trade relations along the East African coast Kiswahili gradually became a language of communication in trading centres.[3]

The Spread of Kiswahili

It may perhaps be worth our while pointing out at this juncture that Kiswahili is a Bantu language. We are convinced that the myth, that used to be held by some uninformed scholars, that Kiswahili is a hybrid language (cf. Knapert 1979) does not hold any more. Many studies have clearly shown that Kiswahili is an African, and more specifically a Bantu, language (cf. Whiteley 1969; Chiraggdin and Mnyampala 1977; Shariff 1984; Nurse and Spear 1985 to mention but a few).[4] We need not, therefore, revisit this discussion; it suffices to alert the reader that this language had existed long before the coming of the oriental traders and sailors to the East African coast, let alone the Arabs.

With increased trade relations along the coast the language became more and more of an effective tool of communication. The Arab slave traders who came to the East African coast immediately realized that without knowledge of Kiswahili their trade would not be as successful. They had, therefore, to learn the language. We must note here, however, that the Arabs were not interested in perfectioning their Kiswahili, rather their interest was in learning the language to enable them to communicate.[5]

When the slave trade spread into the interior it consequently triggered the spread of Kiswahili. This is because Kiswahili was the language that was used by the slave caravans. Small slave trading centers (or caravan centers) that were established in the interior later developed into small towns in which Kiswahili became by and

large the only language of communication. Even after the abolition of the slave trade Kiswahili continued to be used as a language of communication in the small towns, let alone its use as a trade language. Trade between urban and rural people coupled with intermarriages accelerated the spread of Kiswahili.

Religion was yet another factor that enhanced the spread of Kiswahili in Tanzania. The moslems who came to spread the Islamic religion along the East African Coast had to use Kiswahili in their preaching of the Islamic faith. As Islam spread into the interior it also triggered the spread of Kiswahili. Although at the beginning the missionaries who came to spread the Gospel in Tanzania favoured the use of local languages against Kiswahili, since the latter was associated with Islam, later they discovered that the use of Kiswahili in their teachings could not be avoided. They, therefore, resolved to using Kiswahili both as a means of communication and as a medium of instruction, thus contributing to the spread of the language.

When the Germans came to East Africa in the 1880's, Kiswahili had more or less established itself as an important African language used both as a medium of instruction in missionary schools and as a trading language. They, therefore, found it worthwhile using the language somehow. In fact during the German times the acquisition of Kiswahili was a first step towards participating in Government through membership of the junior Civil Service (Whiteley op. cit). The British administrators too could not do without Kiswahili. They used it as a medium of instruction in primary school education and as a means of

communication throughout the District Administration. Kiswahili was clearly the only "neutral" indigenous language. The colonialists used it as a know them - take advantage of them - tactic. To them Kiswahili was, therefore, a language of power.

Despite the seemingly negative intentions that triggered the use of Kiswahili by the colonialists there was also a positive result. The fact that one was required to know Kiswahili before one was allowed to work in the junior Civil Service (in the case of the German period) and in the District Administration sector (in the case of the British period) prompted many Tanganyikans, who hitherto never spoke Kiswahili, to learn the language. This was an indirect way of spreading the language.

During the struggles for independence in the then Tanganyika the Kiswahili language played a very important role of bringing people together. While to the colonialists Kiswahili was a colonising tool, to the nationalists its role was one of liberation. In Tanganyika Kiswahili was the only language that a relatively large part of the population could understand; the only language that could touch their feelings and consequently win their support. In this regard Kiswahili has remained effective ever since.

It is important to point out the fact that during the struggles for independence Kiswahili was associated with nationalism, patriotism and liberation - a kind of driving force that made all those involved in the struggle, either directly or indirectly, strive to learn the language. In this way the spread of Kiswahili became even more accelerated.

The Development of Kiswahili

The development of Kiswahili in Tanzania has a long standing history. It begins way back before independence during which time, as we will soon see, there were some major steps taken to promote and develop the language. After independence we also see some important steps that were taken by the Tanzania Government to promote and develop the language. We will now delve more closely into this issue.

Pre-Independence Development

Before independence there were quite a number of steps that were taken in attempts to enhance the development of the Kiswahili language. Some of the steps may have been coincidental while others were actually planned.

As early as 1868 the Holy Ghost Fathers had established themselves at Bagamoyo. These Fathers used Kiswahili as a medium of instruction for elementary education of freed slave children (Wright:1965). The Holy Ghost Fathers found Kiswahili to be the only "neutral" language to be used in such schools since although the parents of those children had different linguistic backgrounds they all used Kiswahili as a means of communication.

According to Wright(op.cit.) UMCA missionaries prepared some text books in Kiswahili for pedagogical purposes: Geography text books were prepared in 1886, History in 1893, Reading and Spelling in 1892 - 97. In 1888 UMCA launched a news paper called "MSIMULIZI" ("Reporter"). This was followed, in 1895, by another news paper called "Habari ya Mwezi" (news of the month); the paper was published at Magila. UMCA was also responsible for launching, in 1905, another

news paper called "Kiongozi" ("the leader"). This was a more nationally acclaimed paper as it dealt with a variety of themes at the national level.

In 1910 the German Protestant Mission launched their newspaper called "Pwani na Bara" (coast and upcountry (Whiteley op.cit.)). Other news papers that were widely read in the country and which became prominent for many years included "Mambo Leo" (lit. matters today), which was launched in 1923; "Mwangaza" (light) launched in 1957 and "Ukulima wa Kisasa" (modern farming) launched in 1950 There were a lot more news papers, mainly local, that were later published and which we will not enumerate here. These news papers were a good platform for the development of Kiswahili.

The British administrators realizing the importance of using local languages felt that there was need to have one African language and which could possibly be used throughout East Africa (i.e. Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar). In 1925 therefore, as a first step towards this goal, an Education Committee met in Dar es Salaam to discuss and decide on which language should be used as a lingua franca for use in schools right across the four countries.[6] The choice of Kiswahili was obvious. As a matter of fact it was on the basis of the recommendations made by this Education Committee that the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee was founded in 1930. It was this Committee that defined Standard Kiswahili as being that of the Zanzibar dialect. We

must hasten to point out here that there was some disagreement among the members of the committee; to some members the Mombasan dialect should have been the appropriate choice. The debate still continues today. Moreover, the Zanzibar dialect was not really studied in detail; rather the committee took it for granted that the works of Steere (1870) and Madan (1905), which were in actuality the basis of the choice, reflected the Zanzibar dialect.

Mention must also be made to the effect that work on standardization began immediately after the 1925 Education Committee Conference. For after this conference a Central Publishing Committee was set up. Its objective was to monitor all projected secular school textbooks in order to avoid duplication of effort and to ascertain the standard nature of the textbooks.

The Inter-Territorial Language Committe's main objective was to promote the standardization and development of the Kiswahili Language. In order to achieve this the following strategies had to be followed:

(i) Standardize orthography and obtain complete inter-territorial aggrement;

(ii) as far as possible secure uniformity in the use of existing and new words by the exercise of control over the publication of school and other dictionaries;

(iii) secure uniformity of grammar and syntax through the publication of standard books on the subject;

(iv) encourage and assist authors whose native tongue is Kiswahili;

(v) give advice to all prospective authors on books which they propose to write;

(vi) procure the revision where necessary of approved Kiswahili textbooks and books of a general nature already published.

(vii) draw up an annual programme of Kiswahili textbooks required under the heading (a) Textbooks, and (b) General Literature;

(viii) make arrangements for translating textbooks into Kiswahili or for writing such books in Kiswahili;

(ix) examine and where necessary correct the Kiswahili of such textbooks and general literature before publication;

(x) revise and give advice concerning the matter of all Kiswahili books that are dealt with by the committee;

(xi) supply authors with information as to methods of teaching in vogue in the various territories;

(xii) answer general inquiries concerning Kiswahili language and literature;

(xiii) undertake such other activities as may be deemed instrumental and conducive to the attainment of the foregoing objectives.

Clearly we can see that the Inter-Territorial Language Committee took the standardization and development of the Kiswahili language very seriously. In this regard one can say without exaggeration that the

impetus given to the development and spread of Kiswahili in East Africa was enormous.

After the founding of the East African High Commission, in 1948, the East African Inter-Territorial Language Committee was placed under its jurisdiction; hitherto it had been under the jurisdiction of the four East African Governors. This goes to show that the functions of the Committee were directly under the surveillance of the East African Governments. This is an important point to bear in mind since we will see a somewhat different situation when we examine what happened after independence.

A few years after the founding of the East African High Commission another committee was established known as the East African Literature Bureau. Its main objective was to assume the role of controlling publishing matters. It should be noted that although the East African Literature Bureau took over the literary role of the Inter-Territorial Language Committee the Committee remained the authority on matters of Kiswahili research and orthography. As for research, the Committee strongly recommended that research in the different Kiswahili dialects ought to be undertaken.

The Committee was at the outset based in Dar es Salaam where it remained until 1942 when it moved to Nairobi. In 1952 it moved to Makerere where it remained for ten years after which it moved to Mombasa. However, the Committee remained here only for a very short while because in 1963 it moved back to Dar es Salaam. It was here that in 1964 the Committee was finally incorporated into the Institute of Swahili Research as one of the Research Institutes of the University of Dar es Salaam.

The Committee operated through four different periods. For the first eighteen years (i.e. from 1930 to 1947) it was under the jurisdiction of the four East African Governors. Between 1948 and 1952 it was under the jurisdiction of the East African High Commission; from 1952 to 1962 it was under the aegis of 'Makerere College.'[7] The final period was when it moved back to Dar es Salaam in 1963 and was placed under the jurisdiction of the then University College Dar es Salaam.

From the year 1954 the Committee changed its name slightly and was known as the East African Swahili Committee. After the year 1964 when the Committee had been an integral part of the University College Dar es Salaam it was renamed the Institute of Swahili Research (later to be known as the Institute of Kiswahili Research).

Right from its inception on January 1, 1930 the Inter-Territorial Language Committee deemed it necessary to have a forum where different people could contribute their views on the development of the Kiswahili language. A bulletin was established to that effect (i.e. the "Inter-Territorial Language Committee Bulletin"). The first issue of this bulletin came out in 1930. In the year 1953 the bulletin was renamed Journal (i.e."Journal of the East African Swahili Committee"). After 1964 it became the Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research (later known as"Journal of the Institute of Kiswahili Research").

Initially the Committee consisted of seventeen members, the Director of Education and one official and two non-officials from

each country together with the organizing secretary. These members were whites and it was not until 1939 that at least one member from each country was appointed as members of the Committee; actually it was not until 1946 that Africans participated in the meetings.

During its existence the Committee dealt with a number of issues pertaining to the development of the Kiswahili language. These included standardization (both in grammar and vocabulary) - these were reflected, as we have noted above, in school materials, textbooks and books of a general nature, work on neologisms and research in the various dialects of Kiswahili.

We have belabored on the nature and functions of the East African Inter-Territorial Language Committee because it was precisely this organ that seriously delved into and gave impetus to the development of the Kiswahili language. In our opinion its involvement in the promotion and development of Kiswahili was tremendous and remains unchallenged. Whether the colonialists' endeavour to develop the language was in their own interests or not is really not what is at issue here; rather what is important for us to note is the seriousness that the colonialists gave to the development of the Kiswahili language. We can say with Whiteley (1969: 82) that the work of the Committee laid foundations for the development of Kiswahili as a modern African language.

Within Tanzania itself the then Tanganyika Broadcasting corporation introduced broadcasts in Kiswahili in 1954. In the

following year simultaneous English and Kiswahili Interpretations were introduced in the Legislative Council (Olson:1972). The move was intended to enable non-English speaking peoples who knew Kiswahili to serve on the council. This period also witnessed an increase in the number of news papers written in Kiswahili.

Post-Independence Development

As pointed out above, during the struggles for independence Kiswahili played a very important role - that of uniting the people. After Tanzania had achieved her independence, therefore, it became clear that Kiswahili was a language worth promoting and developing. In the light of this the Tanzania Government (then Tanganyika Government) deemed it necessary to seek ways and means of developing and promoting Kiswahili. As a first step towards this Kiswahili was declared the national language of Tanzania immediately after independence. In 1962 the then Prime Minister of Tanzania, Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, declared: "In future Kiswahili will normally be used at State and Public functions when Ministers and other Members of Government are the speakers. In addition it is proposed, after Tanganyika becomes a republic, to permit Ministers of Parliament to use either English or Kiswahili in the National Assembly".[8] As a follow up of that statement President Julius Nyerere became the first African Head of State to address a Parliament in an indegenous African language in 1962.[9] From there on Kiswahili became the major language in Parliament.

The use of Kiswahili in Parliament (mainland Tanzania) was followed by the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in all public primary schools. Government Ministries and parastatal organizations were urged to use Kiswahili in their correspondences as much as possible. To cement this initiative the Government, on January 4, 1967 issued an official directive effecting the use of Kiswahili in all government and official business.

In Zanzibar Kiswahili was declared the official language shortly after the revolution in 1964 (Khatib:1983). This was officially announced in the Government News paper Kweupe. In that paper all people in Zanzibar and Pemba were urged to learn Kiswahili (i.e., those who did not know it already) as quickly as possibly. A council was immediately established and charged with the responsibility of selecting Kiswahili books that would be used in primary and secondary schools.[10]

In order to strengthen the promotion of the Kiswahili language, a number of institutions were established.

The Institute of Kiswahili Research

As pointed out above, in 1963 the East African Swahili Committee moved to Dar es Salaam and in 1964 it became the Institute of Kiswahili Research. The powers of this institution were made much more profound when, by the University of Dar es Salaam Act of 1970, it officially became an organ of the University of Dar es Salaam. As an academic organ of the University of Dar es Salaam the institute was charged with the following responsibilities:

(a) to study and promote the development of the Kiswahili language in all its aspects, with special reference to the support of current and long-term development plans in the United Republic of Tanzania, in East Africa and elsewhere, and in the University of Dar es Salaam;

(b) to mantain the publication of the Journal SWAHILI with articles of academic and general interest, and such other supplementary studies as may appear desirable from time to time;

(c) any other useful publications;

(d) to collect up-to-date information on a world scale about the Kiswahili language and its use, about relevant policies, about materials available in archives and elsewhere, and about teaching and research in progress at all levels;

(e) to disseminate and make available such information as widely as possible and to encourage relevant research, including collection and publication of oral and written texts;

(f) to carry out long-term research projects such as preparation and updating of a standard dictionary and other types of dictionaries at all levels related to the modern development of the language;

(g) to organize short-term intensive research projects at all levels, from academic conferences to workshops for the production of primary school materials in Kiswahili.

A closer examination of the institute's responsibilities as stipulated in (a) - (g) above reveals that the institute was designed to operate in pretty much the same way as its predecessor. This of course is to be expected since the institute was more or less the same Committee (i.e. East African Swahili Committee) except that it had now become not responsible to the East African Governments but to the Tanzania Government.

The institute deemed it necessary to divide itself into different sections in order to carry out its responsibilities in a more effective way. The first section was the Lexicography Section which was aimed at dealing with compilation of dictionaries: the monolingual Kiswahili dictionary, the English-Kiswahili dictionary, etc. The section was also entrusted with the development of terminologies for the different school subjects. The second section was the Linguistics Section. This was established to undertake research in various aspects of Kiswahili phonology, morphology, syntax, sociolinguistics and dialectology. The third section was the Literature Section established to undertake research in written and oral literature in Kiswahili within Tanzania. Finally there was also established the Administrative Section which would provide office services to facilitate academic research by way of secretarial work, transport, registry personnel and financial control.

The National Swahili Council

From the national point of view it was deemed necessary to have a national body that would ensure that Kiswahili was being developed within the goals and aspirations of the Tanzanian nation. Hence the establishment of the National Swahili Council (commonly known as BAKITA - Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa) in 1967 by an Act of Parliament. The aims and objectives of BAKITA were stipulated as follows:

(a) to create a healthy atmosphere for the development and usage of Kiswahili in Tanzania;

(b) to cooperate with other institutions involved in the development of Kiswahili and (try) to coordinate their activities;

(c) to encourage the use of Kiswahili in government functions and all other business in general;

(d) to emphasize and encourage correct and standard Kiswahili usage;

(e) to cooperate with relevant sectors and/or institutions in providing simple translations of technical terminology in Kiswahili;

(f) to publish a pamphlet or journal on Kiswahili language and literature.

(g) to provide services to the government, public meetings and different writers who write in Kiswahili for the development of Kiswahili.

(translation mine)

In comparing the two organs, i.e. I.K.R. and BAKITA one realizes that their aims and objectives are rather different. I.K.R. is more of an academic institution while BAKITA is more of an executive body; more of a politically oriented organ. Whereas I.K.R. caters for academic excellence, BAKITA is aimed at making sure that Kiswahili is developed within the policies and aspirations of the Tanzanian nation. Within Tanzania it is BAKITA which has been entrusted with the seal of approval with regard to usage and standardization.

The activities of BAKITA as stipulated in (a) - (g) above were expanded by the Amendment Act of Parliament passed in 1983. The following items were included:

(h) with regard to cooperating with other institutions, organs or individuals the council will make follow-ups, advise and coordinate all activities that pertain to the promotion of the Kiswahili language;

(i) by cooperating with a group of people, different national institutions and organs will be established to coordinate research activities on the Kiswahili language carried out in the United Republic;

(j) to examine, by special request from author/translator, all new books or materials written and translated into Kiswahili in order to ascertain the standard nature of the language;

(k) to cooperate with publishers in helping authors to write standard Kiswahili;

(l) to conduct Kiswahili (long) essay competitions;

(m) to cooperate with the Ministry of Education in examining and approving Kiswahili textbooks before they are actually printed for use by Institutes of Education. ...[11]

(translation mine)

Department of Kiswahili, University of Dar es Salaam

With the provisions of the University of Dar es Salaam Act of 1970 there was also established a department known as the Department of Swahili. The main objective of the department was to train (using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction) students who were interested in Kiswahili linguistics, literature and theatre arts. Most of the students who are taught in this department are those that take teacher's education and who, therefore, after completion of their degree studies go to teach Kiswahili linguistics, literature and theatre arts in secondary schools and colleges of education.

Institute of Education

The Institute of Education was not designed primarily to promote Kiswahili, however, one of its duties is curriculum development. As far as Kiswahili is concerned the institute prepares syllabi for primary and secondary schools and

teachers colleges. It has a special unit that deals with preparation of seminars on Kiswahili Methodology (i.e. the teaching of Kiswahili) for language and language literature teachers. Sometimes the institute prepares its own Kiswahili textbooks for use in primary schools. It also prepares guidelines for Kiswahili Exams.

Ministry of Youth and Culture

Kiswahili being part of the Tanzanian culture it was deemed appropriate to put it under the Ministry of Youth and Culture.[12] A directorate of Kiswahili Language Promotion and Development was established. In each region and district, throughout Tanzania, a cultural office was established under a regional and district cultural officer respectively. Under the cultural officer are several other officers, the language officer (Afisa Lugha) being one of them. The language officers are responsible for the development of Kiswahili in their respective areas.

The Kiswahili Language Situation

In the Preceding Section we have surveyed some of the major steps that were taken in order to foster the development and promotion of the Kiswahili language in East Africa, but more specifically so in Tanzania.[13] One might wish at this juncture to examine the present language (Kiswahili) situation in Tanzania given the kind of steps that have already been taken toward its promotion and development.

From the non-technical point of view the development of Kiswahili has been quite encouraging. It is used in almost all social gatherings, and in public and government business. In other words the ordinary day-to-day business is run by using Kiswahili as a means of communication. Within Tanzania Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in all public and (some) private primary schools. Today there is a lot more popular literature written in Kiswahili, for local consumption, than there was say thirty or so years ago. What's more, the political propagandists find it an extremely effective tool.

From the technical point of view, however, Kiswahili seems to have a long way to go. For instance, since Kiswahili is used as a medium of instruction in primary schools one would imagine that the same would apply to secondary schools and higher institutions of learning, but this is not the case. The medium of instruction in secondary schools, colleges and universities is English, even though there were speculations that perhaps by the year 1990 Kiswahili would be the medium of instruction in all secondary schools and higher institutions of learning. In any discussion that involves some technical aspect or concept quite often speakers switch to English. The reason being that they find it difficult to get appropriate Kiswahili terminologies with which they can express themselves. Moreover, not many technical subjects have been written in Kiswahili; not to mention the rather scarce translations of technical books.

It is therefore clear that in the realm of modern technology Kiswahili is still far from adequate. In the subsections that follow we try to examine what has triggered this situation.

Inadequacies in Language Planning

We saw earlier (pp. 000) that quite a number of steps were taken to foster the development of Kiswahili after independence. First it was declared to be the national language immediately after independence. In Zanzibar it became the official language in 1964 while in Tanzania mainland in 1967 an official directive was issued to effect its official use. The IKR, BAKITA, the Swahili Department at the University of Dar es Salaam, and all such other organs were established within the spirit of developing the language. However, language planning has more implications than setting up some institutions.

Before we seriously delve into the question of language planning it is important to make clear our stand on the concept of language planning. Daswani (this volume) correctly points out that 'terms such as language standardization (Ray, 1963) language development (Ferguson, 1968), language modernization (Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984), and language planning (Haugen, 1966, 1971) are used almost interchangeably'. This, in our opinion, cannot be regarded as a sort of confusion. We think that there is legitimacy in using the terms interchangeably. This is because the concepts represented by these terms overlap in an intricate way such that it becomes difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between them.

It is precisely this difficulty that creates disagreement among scholars regarding the definition and scope of language planning. Our concept of language planning is similar to that of Haugen (1971). The only difference in our case is that we allow it to include language development and language modernization as well since Haugen's definition does not include the last two concepts. The reason for this kind of stand will become evident as we proceed.

Language planning cannot be equated with mere pronouncements with regard to intentions on what the language situation ought to be. In other words, it does not suffice to merely declare that language L is a national or official language of a people P. Nor does it suffice to simply establish an organ for language development or language research. Quite a number of questions have to be addressed too.

First and foremost, there is need to identify the problems that are involved, directly or indirectly, in the whole planning process. For instance we need to know who are the people to be involved in the planning exercise itself. It should not be the task of politicians alone. Language cannot be planned from a political arena alone; the relevant technical people will of necessity have to be involved for they have a lot to contribute. Most of the pronouncements with regard to language policy in Tanzania have been made by politicians with no technical expertise. We think that this is not proper because with a technical issue like this one there is need to know how the executants themselves view the language problem.

Furthermore we need to know what the social implications for such a decision are - we need to know for example whether the people will readily accept the suggested language (or dialect), and if not, what is to be done to alleviate the situation. And that is not enough, we need to know what kind of organs should be established and for what specific purposes, how those organs should be run and what kind of training is needed. We also need to know what problems are likely to be faced and how to go about them. Above all we need to have a clear picture of the financial implications of all this.

Notice that at this stage we are only concerned with identifying problems. This fact-finding stage, as Rubin (1972) calls it, is crucial in the sense that it enables us to see exactly what we are going into before the planning itself takes off. To the best of our knowledge this never took place in Tanzania. Moreover in its strictest sense even the second stage (that is, "actual planning") was never exercised. In order to have "actual planning" we need to be clear about the goals, the strategies to be used and what the expected outcomes are. As far as we know there is no evidence to that effect in Tanzania.

It is true that institutions such as IKR at the University of Dar es Salaam, Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages (IKFL = Taasisi ya Kiswahili na Lugha za Kigeni = TAKILUKI) in Zanzibar, BAKITA and the Department of Kiswahili at the University of Dar es Salaam are all geared towards the development of the Kiswahili language. It is also true that the government has been

financing these institutions all along. What has to be noted here, however, is that the financing of these institutions has not been done within the perspective of language planning as stated above.

The Institute of Kiswahili Research which took over from the East African Swahili Committee is not directly under the surveillance of the government as used to be the case with its predecessor. Since its integration into the University of Dar es Salaam it has assumed the role of academic pursuit. Of course this is not a negative quality as far as language development is concerned. As we will later see its role in the promotion and development of Kiswahili cannot be overemphasized. Besides, it is precisely this quality that has promoted IKR from a national to an international level. What one has to note here though is that IKR has reached its present status out of its own initiative as an academic institution of a university and not because of language planning policy in Tanzania.

On the other hand BAKITA which is the national organ entrusted with the promotion and development of the Kiswahili language in Tanzania has not fared quite as well. Since its inception in 1967 BAKITA has not, seriously speaking, gained the recognition that a body of its kind sh/ould have gained. Indeed this was to be expected if one examines the conditions under which BAKITA has been operating. While the aims and objectives of BAKITA seem to appeal to one's mind a closer examination of them reveals certain weaknesses. As an example let us take the first three aims and objectives. The

first one says: "to create a healthy atmosphere for the development and usage of Kiswahili in Tanzania." It doesn't say how! The second one says: "to cooperate with other institutions involved in the development of Kiswahili and (try) to coordinate their activities." Again this is extremely vague. What would the parameters for such a cooperation be? What institutions, all or just a few? Of what level, etc. The third one says: "to encourage the use of Kiswahili in government functions and in all other business in general." Here too it does not say how this is to be carried out. This points back to the problem we touched upon earlier - the failure to know exactly what one is going into before the actual planning takes off. There is a more serious problem that has faced BAKITA. In quite a number of cases BAKITA has had acute financial difficulties. As a result it has failed to carry out its activities as effectively as it should have. It is clear that the Tanzania Government has not given BAKITA the seriousness it deserves. To create an organ and entrust it with the responsibility of language standardization, terminology development, imprimatur, etc. and then fail to give it the required financial support, is to make it futile.

On p. 000 above we mentioned something about the Ministry of Youth and Culture. We said that the ministry established a directorate of Kiswahili Language Promotion and Development. In each region and district there was established a cultural office under a regional and district cultural officer respectively. Under these officers we find, among other officers, the language officers.

But seriously speaking the language officers are mere figure heads. This is because they have no clearly defined programmes adopted uniformly throughout the country; every language officer tends to define his/her own programme.[14]

If we compare institutions that were established to promote and develop Kiswahili before independence with those that were established after independence we see quite a big contrast. It is clear that there were fewer organs involved in the promotion of the Kiswahili language before independence than there are today. Surprisingly, however, more seriousness seems to have been given to the development of the language before independence than after independence. What could have been the reason for such a situation? This we try to answer in the subsection that follows.

Lack of Systematic Follow-Ups and Evaluations

After the "actual planning" stage then we come to the implementation stage. At this stage what has been planned is put into effect. The implementation stage includes, among other things, follow-ups. Systematic follow-ups are necessary in order to ensure that the planning is not only being implemented but also that it is implemented in the way it is designed.

Language planning is a long-term process. In view of this the follow-ups have to be carried out in a systematic manner allowing time for comprehensiveness of the different stages of implemention. The different stages will, of necessity, have to be evaluated one after the other. After each stage of implementation the evaluation should give recommendations as to how the following stage should proceed; where applicable suggestions for improvement should also be given.

Given the fact that in Tanzania no systematic planning procedures were followed right from the start the absence of follow-ups and evaluation, by the Tanzania Government, of the activities of the different institutions and bodies established for the development of the Kiswahili language is only a corollary. It is mainly due to these deficiencies that the Tanzania Government has found it difficult to achieve the expected goals with regard to the promotion and development of the Kiswahili language.

As suggested above, follow-ups and evaluations of the different stages of implementation help to monitor the development of the language in question. Once such a system has been set up the activities of the different organs concerned with language promotion and language development will be coordinated. Consequently there will be a systematic and rather "uniform" development of the language.[15] Again since this has not been done in Tanzania the development of the Kiswahili language has been neither systematic nor "uniform". This we will qualify below.

When one listens to radio broadcasts, for example, one realizes that the language used by some broadcasters do not seem to fall in line with the so called "standard" Kiswahili.[16] Some vocabularies, terminologies, etc. are used rather inconsistently and "incorrectly".[17] The same situation, obtains in the case of newspapers (i.e. Uhuru, Mfanyakazi, Lengo, Mzalendo, etc.). More specifically there are no clearly established norms with regard to usage. Consequently there has been a number of debates both

from the radio and news papers with regard to what ought to be regarded as the "correct" usage. This situation has mainly been triggered by the fact that there is, in pactice, no organ that controls the imprimatur on Kiswahili books and materials. In the past this was not a big problem because the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee (later East African Swahili Committee) controlled the imprimatur on almost every Kiswahili publication. In Tanzania it is BAKITA which was empowered with the seal of approval with regard to language usage. BAKITA has, however, proved to be ineffective for the reasons we have already seen. And now the problem is becoming even more acute considering the fact that more and more Kiswahili books and materials are being published by different publishers.

Problems of the sort described above are not really perculiar to the language situation in Tanzania. Mistakes in the use of the standard language have also been evident in standard Arabic (Ibrahim: this volume). According to Ibrahim mistakes in the use of standard Arabic are common in the language heard on radio and television, in news papers and magazines, in official documents and publications, in formal speeches, oral renditions of scripted texts, etc. Ibrahim argues that "the only plausible explanation of this state of affairs lies in the linguistic distance which separates the formally learned standard Arabic from the spoken and natively acquired varieties of Arabic (Ibrahim 1983: 510 - 513).

In comparing the Arabic linguistic situation with the one that obtains in Kiswahili two important points come to mind. First it is clear that the two languages have one thing in common namely that in both cases we find mistakes (or incorrect usage as I prefer to call them) in the standard language. Once such a situation has hanged on for a long time a "new language", as Ibrahim calls it, will eventually emerge. The second point is that notwithstanding the similarities that gleam between the two languages there seems to be one big disimilarity. While in Arabic there is, according to Ibrahim, a linguistic distance that separates the formally learned standard written Arabic from the spoken and natively acquired varieties of Arabic in Kiswahili the situation is not quite the same. Granted there are many dialects of Kiswahili. But the fact that in most cases Kiswahili is written as it is spoken reduces the disparity between the two forms (i.e. written vs spoken). Moreover, native speakers of Kiswahili along the Tanzanian coast speak a dialect which is more or less the same as standard Kiswahili. As a point of fact most native speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania speak better standard Kiswahili than most of the learned people who have studied it in schools. Indeed most of the incorrect usage in standard Kiswahili which can be heard from the radio and other organs of mass media are attributable to people who speak Kiswahili as their second or third language. As regards books and other written materials incorrect usage is more evident in books written by non-native speakers than in those written by native speakers. This is not to say, however,

that all native speakers of Kiswahili in Tanzania speak better standard Kiswahili than all the learned people who speak it as their second language.

Given the kind of situation that holds in Tanzania, therefore, we might say that if BAKITA had effectively assumed its role of approval on published Kiswahili books and materials the situation would have been much different from what it is now. For a language which is just beginning to emerge as one of the world's most important languages imprimatur on books and materials published is a necessary requirement. In our opinion for a language which has not been fully modernized to leave written language in a state of laissez-faire is to do the language more harm than good.

Lack of Systematic Terminology Development

Some scholars have correctly argued that one of the most important tasks in developing a language which is underdeveloped in the spheres of science and technology is the deliberate effort of forming neologisms to enable it to match with the modernization process (see, e.g. Tumbo 1982). No language can be claimed to be modern unless it has the capability to cope with modern technology.

In Tanzania the development of scientific and technical terminology in the Kiswahili language has been realized in two forms, formally and informally. Formally the work has been the responsibility of BAKITA. Informally it has been dealt with by individual institutions and people who are interested in developing terminologies for use in their day-to-day activities.

Although BAKITA has been entrusted with this work it does not itself have trained and qualified terminologists. It is true that it has a terminology committee but most of the members of this committee have neither a linguistic nor terminological background. The situation being what it is BAKITA cannot seriously engage itself in terminology development. In most cases it depends on terminologies fowarded to it by individual institutions and people, who may not themselves be experts in terminology work. Of course BAKITA's situation is rather temporary and is bound to change in due course.

Once terminologies have been received by BAKITA the terminology committee meets and deliberates upon them. Sometimes the suggested terminologies are rejected by the committee and sent back for reconsideration and reworking. We must point out here that although most of the terminology committee members have no expertise in terminography they have certain guidelines which they use in deciding whether or not a certain terminology should be approved. The approved terminology lists are published in small booklets.

BAKITA's efforts in terminology development have not been quite encouraging. Two reasons seem to account for this state of affairs. The first has to do with the whole set up of BAKITA itself. Recall we said earlier (cf. p.ccc) that BAKITA is a politically oriented organ. The very nature of its formation reflects this. Its consititution requires that the chairman of the council

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(i.e. BAKITA) be appointed by the President of the United Republic. The members of the council must be 50 or more but must not exceed 60, and these are appointed by the minister. The council members must come both from Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar at a ratio of 2:1 (i.e. 2 in the case of the former and 1 in the case of the latter). The constitution also provides that there be members from organizations and institutions which are involved in language promotion. Moreover, it is clearly stipulated in the constitution that every region must be represented. Nowhere in the constitution is there provision for academic qualifications that qualifies one to be a member of the council. Clearly we see that a formation of this sort can hardly give BAKITA the expertise it requires. Hence its ineffectiveness.

The second reason that accounts for BAKITA's shortcomings has to do, as pointed out earlier, with financial problems. A good many times BAKITA has failed to convene its meetings as regulary as required due to the meagre funds that are allocated to it by the government. This means that the terminology committee cannot simply decide to meet every time they have (suggested) terminologies to work on. Their meetings are constrained by the difficult financial problems. Consequently since the terminology committee does not meet regulary it takes too long for the suggested terminologies to come out. Furthermore due to the same financial constraints even those terminologies that have been approved face dissemination problems.

The institutions and individuals who urgently need Kiswahili terminologies for use in their day-today activities cannot

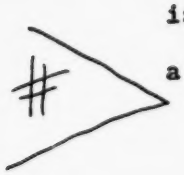
wait for BAKITA's long awaited lists. They usually develop their own terminologies and use them without BAKITA's approval. The danger here is that most of such terminologies are developed without any terminography expertise, and these happen to be the majority. What's more, each institution (or individual) develops its own terminologies in its own way. This develops what one might call "terminology chaos".

This terminology chaos which is already emerging in Kiswahili should not be underrated. Its implications are far-reaching. Once it has been allowed to continue there will be no systemacy in Kiswahili terminology development. We must remember that one of the reasons (and perhaps the main reason) for having all the terminologies pass through BAKITA and be approved by it is to ensure that the forms are uniformly standardized.

The seriousness of terminology chaos has been witnessed elsewhere. In Arabic for example the seriousness of variation in the technical terms (i.e. terminology chaos) has taken its toll. According to Ibrahim (op. cit.) one of the more serious problems facing Arabicization and the adaptation of Arabic for modern communication needs is the variation in the technical terms. Ibrahim argues that this situation is due to the fact that there is no coordination among individual Arab countries and among individuals and agencies within the same country in the field of Arabicization and terminology work. According to Ibrahim this problem is serious

to the extent that it is usual to find different Arabic equivalents for the same English term in glossaries and dictionaries printed by the same publisher.

The danger with a situation of the sort described above is that if it continues for a long time then the terminology chaos will be extended to the non-technical vocabularies. Again after this situation has persisted for quite some time it will result in formation of sub-dialects which with time will ultimately develop into distinct dialects. Of course there is nothing wrong with a language having several dialects. But what should be noted here is that once such a case arises then the whole purpose of having a standard language will have been defeated.



Need for a more effective composition of BAKITA

In the preceeding section we saw that BAKITA's set up is in the most part politically inclined. Most of the members who are appointed to the council are more of representatives from the different regions than technical people. In other words most of the people who are appointed to the council do not necessarily have the technical know-how. Of course for an organ that is designed to operate from a political perspective this may not be a problem. But looking at the kind of activities that BAKITA is charged with (e.g. terminology development, language promotion, coordination of the different activities of institutions engaged in language development, etc.) one cannot but say that people who should serve on the Council should be defined by their technical know-how and not by mere political representation. The author's own experience in this Council is that there are many members of the Council

who attend the Council's sessions but who do not contribute anything in the discussions.

Coupled with the problem of technical know-how of the Council's members is the question of the number of the members of the Council. The constitution of the Council provides for a minimum of fifty Councillors. Given the fact that BAKITA has had persistent financial problems a minimum of fifty councillors seems to be too many.

The number could have been reduced in order to save money and serve the Council better; experience elsewhere has shown that for issues that require technical know-how the smaller the number of participants the better. Let us take a practical example. During the 1983/86 Trienium BAKITA had five committees namely The Executive Committee, The Standardization Committee, Committee on Grammar and Imprimatur, Translation Committee, and Committee for Journal and Writing (Essays, etc.). The number of the members in these committees were 7, 25, 15, 15 and 15 respectively. It is true that these figures are perhaps not too big but given the financial constraints under which the Council operates the numbers could have been much more reduced say to something like 7, 8, 8, 8 and 8. This would have greatly reduced the expenses and would have made the discussions much more lively and effective. The snag here, however, is that the nature of the set up of the Council cannot allow this kind of reduction; because as already pointed out, in order to do this one would have to go for technical expertise alone, other criteria outside this would have to be ignored. In

any case if BAKITA is to be effective in its work its composition will of necessity have to be restructured. In order to have a picture on how this could be done we will examine what happens elsewhere. Specifically we examine the situation in Israel.

In Israel there is an "Academy for the Hebrew Language". The Academy , which came into being in 1953 was preceded by the "Language Committee" founded in 1890 and made more vigorous in 1905 (Chaim Rabin, this volume). The Academy is the official body and its decisions become law after being countersigned by the Minister of Education and published in the Official Gazette Reshumot (Rabin op.cit.). Here it is clear that the results of the Academy are taken seriously by the government. Such a situation does not prevail in Tanzania.

In as far as terminology development is concerned there are several terminology committees depending on the different fields that are being worked on. According to Rabin (op.cit.) each terminology committee is composed of between one to three members of the Academy and a number of practitioners of the field in question. It is important to note here that the majority of the members of these committees are the real practitioners, the people who have the technical know-how of what is being discussed. In the meetings each term is thoroughly examined as to its correctness in Hebrew and "whether the same word is not used in some other list by a different profession in a sense different from that needed in the list under discussion." After the meetings the agreed upon

word-lists are circulated to members of the Academy and tc many members of the profession in question. They make comments, criticise and give, where necessary, alternative suggestions. The comments, criticisms, etc. are again discussed and once accepted they are incorporated in the list. Members of the Academy are once again given these lists and asked to further comment on them and raise objections, if any. Finally the complete list goes to the Academy's Board of Terminology which also discusses the terms. From here the agreed terms are sent to a joint meeting of the Terminology Board and Board of Grammar where only the controversial terms are debated upon. Then the terms go to the Plenum who finally confirm the list by vote.

One thing should be mentioned in connection with terminology development in Israel. The development of terminology in this country is not confined to the Academy alone. Different institutions (i.e. the Army, Police, Customs, Journalists, etc.) develop their own terminologies. They have their own language commissions. The Academy is concerned with terminologies that directly relate to pedagogical disciplines only; the professionals are left to develop their own terms since they are the experts. However, all these finally get the final approval in the same manner, more or less.

We have cited the Hebrew language example not because they have an excellent system of terminology development, for as we all know no system is without problems; rather we think that their system if employed in Tanzania, with some modifications perhaps, could help alleviate the situation. More specifically we would like to underscore the importance of involving the actual users of the terms in the process of terminology development.[18] In other

words we are suggesting that the composition of a terminology committee should be based on technical know-how and not on political inclinations. Furthermore once the terminologies have originated from the practitioners (i.e. the future users) by the time they come out as officially agreed terms they will have been discussed by the people concerned so much that they (i.e. the people) will not find them strange.

We may therefore conclude this section by saying that terminology development is a technical field; it should be handled only by technical people. By technical people here we mean practitioners in the different fields and linguists. If BAKITA's activities are academic then the choice of the members who compose it ought to reflect this. If its activities are not academic then maybe there is need for a more appropriate body to take over the responsibilities.

The Question of Attitudes

That language planning and language development, at the national level, is dependant upon the attitudes and aspirations of "the powers that be" is a foregone conclusion. Since they are the decision makers they have great influence on language planning and language policy. Recall we said earlier (cf. sect.2) that the colonialists got interested in developing Kiswahili because to them it was a language of power; the Tanzanian nationals who were in the fore front in the struggles for independence stressed the importance and need for Kiswahili because to them it was a language of liberation. What this means is that politicians, be they colonialists or nationalists, will strive to promote and develop a language only when it serves their interests.

As Coulmas (this volume) correctly argues "language cultivation requires certain language attitudes, such as, the willingness of an élite to use language as a means of social control and unification, and as a barrier to outsiders and symbol of national identity". That is to say, if the élite (included in this group are the politicians) are not willing to use their language as a means of social control then the language is likely to face cultivation problems; on the other hand if the élite are willing and are determined to develop the language there is no doubt the language will eventually reach a very high level of development. When German had to compete with French in the 18th Century it was the intellectuals who stepped in the fore front with a high determination of using the language as a medium of education and culture (Coulmas: op.cit). Today we see that German has distinguished itself as one of the modern languages. If the élite had lost grip of their determination to develop German the German people would, perhaps, still be using French which was still the preferred language of the political élite in the 18th Century.

Attitudes in Tanzania

Most of the decision makers and the educated élite in Tanzania attended schools whose medium of instruction was English, from the then middle schools to colleges and universities (for those who made it through). To people of this sort Kiswahili is not regarded as an "academic language". They argue that one cannot argue "academically" in Kiswahili. In fact some even go so far as to say that the falling standards in education are attributable to the use of Kiswahili in schools. Clearly this is a problem of attitude. because their arguments are not substantiated by any clear facts. After all Kiswahili is used as a medium of instruction in primary schools only!

Moreover studies like those of Mlama and Matteru (1978) have clearly shown that English medium is a barrier to the learning process in many secondary schools and colleges in Tanzania. Their study showed that students had problems not only in understanding but also in expressing themselves in English. Furthermore, it is argued in their study that even the teachers in these institutions have problems in expressing themselves in English; quite often they would switch to Kiswahili. The problem really seems to be the medium used (i.e. English) and not Kiswahili. It is the falling standard in English which has affected the education standard in Tanzania. The falling standard in English is understandable considering the role that English has in Tanzania as a means of communication since Kiswahili has taken over as the official language.

It would be absurd to underrate the importance of English as a commercial language. Our opinion, however, is that emphasis should be put on the teaching of English as a subject rather than insisting on its use as a medium of instruction. We strongly feel that efforts should be made to promote the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. Whatever the arguments in favor of English are we cannot deny the fact that using English as a medium of instruction in Tanzania presents students with two problems - that of understanding the language and that of grasping the subject matter; one doesn't have to be an educational psychologist to understand this.

Experiences Elsewhere

Proponents of using English as a medium of instruction in Tanzania argue that Kiswahili is not capable of handling modern technology. It is true that up till now Kiswahili has not been able to satisfactorily cope with modern technology. But does this make it incapable of handling modern technology? Of course not!

We are of the opinion that the Kiswahili language is quite capable of handling modern technology. This is not to say that it can now handle it! We think that the problem that Kiswahili faces now is one of time more than anything else. It needs to be developed and modernized before it can do just what one would expect it to do. We must remember that language adaptation is not an overnight phenomenon. It takes place gradually and can take many years before the expected results are realized.

The difficulty that Kiswahili faces in its process of modernization is not perculiar to this language alone. Even the most developed languages of today like English, French and German had the same if not similar problems when they began to emerge. Coulmas (op.cit.) observes for example that up till the turn of the 17th to the 18th century German was regarded as a boorish language unfit not only for modern technology but even for the demands of educated discourse. Indeed the stage and situation in which Kiswahili is, one might say with confidence, is characteristic of all developing languages of the world.

Reasons for Slow Progress in Tanzania

Although we have said that the problem that Kiswahili faces now is one of time more than anything else it should not be taken for granted that as time goes by so will the language develop. In order for this goal to be achieved there must be deliberate efforts to develop the language. As an interjection we could say here that the rather seemingly slow progress in the development of Kiswahili has mainly been due to the fact that the government has not given it

the attnetion it requires. While the government had expected the language to develop faster into a language of modern technology no serious steps were taken to that effect. One of the steps to take for example would be to commission people to write Kiswahilitext-books for use in secondary schools and higher institutions of learning; to commission people to translate important textbooks into Kiswahili; to form serious and effective terminology commissions, etc. Given the fact that these were not catered for it would be a mirracle to expect otherwise. We are convinced that had the Government of Tanzania taken the issue of language development a little more seriously things would have been much more different than they now are.

Positive Indications

In the preceding sections we have discussed in detail the nature of the development of the Kiswahili language. We have tried to pin-point the problems and obstacles that have tended to bar the development of this language. This does not mean that no achievements have been made so far. Despite all the problems faced there are some very encouraging successes. It is important to stress, however, that most of these successes have been brought about by the initiatives of the different institutions dealing, in one way or another, with the development of the Kiswahili language and by certain individuals who are interested in the language. In the sub-sections that follow we elaborate on how this has been done.

The Institute of Kiswahili Research

We mentioned earlier that IKR was the successor of the East African Swahili Committee and that by the provisions of the University of Dar es Salaam Act of 1970 it became an integral part of the

university. Since then its contribution to the development of the Kiswahili language has, to say without exageration, been tremendous. We cannot enumerate all the activities that IKR has involved itself in. For the purpose of our discussion we will only point out what, in our opinion, seem to be the major achievements.

One of the responsibilities that IKR was charged with when it took over from EASC was to maintain the publication of the journal SWAHILI. In 1970 the journal was renamed KISWAHILI to reflect the name of the language. This journal which deals with linguistic, lexicographic, terminological, literary and theatrical aspects of the Kiswahili language has since then been maintained and has become more academically oriented than it was before. The journal has claimed international status; it is ordered and read in almost every part of the academic world. In this way it has helped to expand the academic boundaries of the Kiswahili language.

The institute also publishes another journal known as MULIKA. This is a journal that deals mainly with critiques and book reviews in all aspects of the Kiswahili language. Besides critiques and book reviews the journal also includes articles in the fields of Kiswahili linguistics, literature, theatre acts and terminology. However, unlike KISWAHILI this journal is aimed at secondary schools and colleges. It is considered as a guide to students and teachers of these two levels in different aspects of the Kiswahili language.

The institute has also published quite a few books on the Kiswahili language. One of the most remarkable achievements of IKR

was the monolingual dictionary (KISWAHILI - KISWAHILI) which was published in 1981.[19] The institute is now working on the ENGLISH-KISWAHILI dictionary and Kiswahili SYNTAX. In 1984 the first book of its own kind on Kiswahili morphology (written purely in Kiswahili) appeared.

For quite some time now the institute has involved itself in terminology development. One of the successes in this field was the development of technical terminology for literature and theatre arts. This list was approved by BAKITA in 1984. This is not to mention the many articles on terminology which have regulary been published in the KISWAHILI journal. The institute is now working on technical terminology in the fields of chemistry, physics, linguistics and biology.

IKR has also managed, under the auspices of UNESCO and SIDA, to conduct four international conferences involving delegates from all the Kiswahili speaking areas (i.e. Kenya, Zaire, Burundi, Rwanda, Comoro, Tanzania and Uganda). Three volumes of the proceedings of some of these conferences have already been published. These conferences have not only helped to expand the boundaries of Kiswahili but they have also given a chance to the different Kiswahili speaking peoples to exchange views and learn from each others experience. The institute intends to continue with such conferences, at least once a year.

As far as Kiswahili literature is concerned IKR has done a lot of research especially in the area of oral literature. A lot of proverbs, stories and riddles have been collected from different parts of the country and published. A lot of work on transliteration of Arabic script materials that have relevance to Kiswahili literature has been done; most of these are poems. The institute intends to carry out a thorough research on the history and development of Kiswahili Poetry.

BAKITA (National Swahili Council)

The National Swahili Council has also made some achievements despite the problems it has faced. One of its major activities is to approve Kiswahili technical terms which have been suggested either by institutions, by its own members or by individuals who are interested in terminology development. Recall (cf. p.000 above) that in Tanzania it is BAKITA that has the seal of approval on Kiswahili. It is not until the terminologies have been approved by BAKITA that they become officially accepted.

Up till now quite a number of technical terms have been approved by BAKITA. Those that have been approved pertain to such fields as economics, mathematics, history, biology physics, chemistry, geography, political Science, finance and business. We must hasten to point out here that only a few terms in each one of these fields have been approved. The procedure is that once these terms are approved the lists are published in pamphlets or mimeos for dissemination.

BAKITA also has a radio programme which is aired weekly. The programme is known as LUGHA YA TAIFA (the National Language). During this program certain aspects of the Kiswahili language are discussed. The aspects range from linguistics to literature.

BAKITA used to publish small pamphlets like LUGHA YETU (our language), JIFUNZE KISWAHILI UWAFUNZE NA WENGINE (learn Kiswahili so that you may teach others). But as we have already pointed out BAKITA has been experiencing financial difficulties. Consequently the publication of these pamphlets has either ceased or has been rather irregular.

BAKITA also has been editing manuscripts and documents from government offices. Sometimes it also engages itself in translation work. One of their works on translation is the book ECONOMICS FOR EAST AFRICA by Ann Seidman.

The Swahili Department

The contribution of the Swahili Department to the development of Kiswahili has also been tremendous. It should be remembered that the department was established with an aim to train students who are interested in Kiswahili linguistics, literature and theatre arts. Since most of these students also take teacher's education after completion of their degree studies they go to teach Kiswahili language, literature and theatre arts in secondary schools and colleges of education. Since its establishment the Swahili Department has produced quite a number of Kiswahili teachers and researchers. In the last five years alone for example a total of 96 students

graduated in Kiswahili. Of these 68 graduates took Kiswahili as their major subject while the rest (i.e. 28) took it as their minor subject. Although these figures may look small it must be realized that the impact of these graduates has been quite tremendous. This is because if we examine all the institutions in Tanzania that are concerned with either the teaching, development or promotion of the Kiswahili language we find that on the average more than 75% of the people that man these institutions are graduates of the Kiswahili Department. If we take for example the Institute of Kiswahili Research which, as we have seen, has made a lot of contribution towards the development of the Kiswahili language, we find that more than 90% of its academic staff members are products of the Swahili Department. It would be fair therefore to say that since in every institution that deals with either the teaching, development or promotion of the Kiswahili language more than half of the academic members of staff are products of the Swahili Department then, though indirectly, the department has made a greater contribution to the development and promotion of Kiswahili than any other institution.

Besides training Kiswahili teachers and researchers the department also "publishes" a journal called KIOO CHA LUGHA (language minor). This is a journal of an organization known as CHAMA CHA KISWAHILI (Swahili Society); an organization which is under the surveillance of the Swahili Department. The journal publishes academic articles which mainly have to do with linguistic, literary and theatrical aspects of the Kiswahili language.

Individual Efforts

Today there are many more Kiswahili books in Tanzania than, say, fifteen years ago. The number of writers in Kiswahili has increased tremendously, especially in popular literature. The problem with such books, however, is that the language used is not "purely"standard. In most of such books spoken language is not differentiated from written language. This is because there is no imprimatur to control the language of these books.

Of late some writers have made attempts to write technical books in Kiswahili. These are books in such fields as physics, chemistry, biology, secretarial courses etc., at an elementary level. The fact that for the past few years government policy has been to emphasize on use of English as a medium of instruction has tended to discourage such would-be plorific writers in Kiswahili.

Concluding Remarks

In this article we have discussed in detail the spread, development and promotion of Kiswahili in East Africa and more specifically so in Tanzania. We have observed the different steps that have been taken towards the development of this language before and after independence. Our discussion has revealed that there are a number of problems that have tended to slow down the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania. We have argued that these problems are attributable to, among other things, poor and rather unclear language planning policy. In view of this we have tried to pin-point what, in our opinion, seem to be the main weaknesses and have tried to put forward suggestions as to how these could be corrected.

We have observed further that notwithstanding the different problems that have been faced still there are some very encouraging achievments that have been made. We have seen that individual institutions like IKR, BAKITA and the Swahili Department, for example, have contributed a lot to the spread, development and promotion of the Kiswahili language. Moreover, we have seen that today in Tanzania we find many more Kiswahili books published; a lot of scientific and technical terminologies have also been developed. Indeed as far as the development of Kiswahili is concerned Tanzania is far ahead of other Kiswahili speaking countries.

Given this state of affairs we can say that although the development of Kiswahili in Tanzania has had a number of stumbling blocks the language is slowly developing into a language of modern technology. The boundaries of Kiswahili have greatly been expanded in the last twenty years. More and more people are learning and teaching Kiswahili in their respective countries. Almost every reputable radio broadcasting station has a Kiswahili programme. Many countries are taking keen interest in the language because it is one of the major lingua francas of Africa; optimists have it that it will eventually be the major lingua franca of Africa.

In order to ensure a steady and accelerated development of the Kiswahili language in Tanzania there seems to be need to reexamine the whole question of language planning and language policy. It has been stressed in our discussion that such an exercise should involve experts; it should not be left in the hands of platform politicians who merely sing songs of praise without having the grasp of what those songs mean!

NOTES

1. Note that here we are using the term "language" in a rather loose sense. Although each of the 120 "languages" claims its own linguistic identity, from a purely linguistic point of view some of these would not qualify as a language. In Massamba (1977) for example I have shown that although Ci-Ruri Ci-Jita and Ki-Kwaya are claimed to be different "languages" they are, in actuality, dialects of the same language.

2. Although it is now widely accepted that Kiswahili is a Bantu language the question as to where exactly along the East African coast this language originated remains in dispute.

3. These were centers like Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Tabora and Ujiji, to mention but a few.

4. Almost every scholar who has studied Bantu languages in any detail knows that Kiswahili is a Bantu language.

5. This is evidenced by the fact that most Arabs up till today speak "broken" Kiswahili (except those who have studied the language in schools). This is because of the big disparity that holds between Arabic grammar and Kiswahili grammar.

6. The Commission was known as the Phelp-Stokes Commission. The meeting of this Committee was followed, in 1928, by a meeting of representatives from the four countries. This meeting was held in Mombasa and it deliberated upon the possibility of using one of the Kiswahili dialects as the standard form.

7. At Makerere it was under the East African Institute of Social Research.

8. This was reported in Tanganyika Standard news paper of September 7, 1962.

9. This took place immediately after President Julius Nyerere took office as first President of the then Tanganyika Republic.

10. The main purpose of this exercise was to make sure that the books used in schools had no colonial "hangovers".

11. Here we have deliberately left out information which is unnecessary.

12. Note that the name of the ministry has been changing quite often.

13. We have not exhausted all the steps that were taken; our focus has been mainly on the major steps.

14. What is even worse is that most of these officers are not

graduates. As such it is difficult for them to draw up any language program

15. Here by 'language' we mean the standard language and not necessarily all the dialects of that particular language.

16. The question as to what exactly should be regarded as "Standard Kiswahili" remains controversial.

17. By "incorrectly" here we mean not conforming to what is generally regarded in the standard language as the correct usage.

18. As of now the Terminology Committee is not composed of mainly the practitioners. So there is little technical known-how input from the practitioners.

19. We are aware of the problems involved in this work. Nevertheless, we are convinced that this dictionary is quite a breakthrough.

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